THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.— Saturday, June 30, 1923. ONE PENNY

Motler's Wisdom.

Workers' Dreadnought

CO-OPERATION. NOT COMPETITION.

VOL. X. No. 15. SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1923. WEEKLY.

ITALIAN CO-OPERATIVES

Of late many writings of Odon Por on the productive Co-operatives of Italy have been published in English.

Odon Por is not a Communist: he dismisses cursorily what he describes as Utopianism. He favours a complex organisation representing the productive Co-operative Societies, private producers, organised consumers, the State, and other public bodies. In our opinion, the workers' initiative would be smothered by outside super-imposed authority in such an organisation as Odon Por desires. His proposals no doubt largely spring from his desire to avoid any clash of interests which may cause social upheavals. He says *:

" The time will come when the two forms of enterprise, co-operative and private, will begin to exhaust the possibilities of their respective regions of expansion, and will have filled every cranny of the economic sphere in which they act. When this happens, and when invasion of their respective camps is necessary, the next step; an understanding between them, will become inevitable. This understanding will probably take the form of a super-structure on the lines of the mediaeval guilds."

Odon Por's proposals for the guilds he desires are not, however, on the lines of the mediaeval guilds, but on a much more bureaucratic model. He quotes with approval the demand of the sub-Alpine Press Association for the control of the Piedmont telephone system if the State cease to own it, as announced by Mr. Mussolini. The sub-Alpine Press Association demanded a supreme council of management for the telephone, of representatives of the sub-Alpine Press Association, the Turin Chamber of Commerce, the telephone subscribers, and the staff of the telephone service.

That such a proposal was made by a Press Association shows that the idea of the all-sufficing righteousness of private enterprise has been more largely undermined in Italy than in this country. Nevertheless, the alternative suggested is not to our taste. Chambers of Commerce have no place in our visions of the Socialist community, nor do we know why the ordinary citizen who uses the telephone, but knows little or nothing of its mechanism, should desire to instruct his brothers and sisters who operate the telephone as to their business. Such theories of control by the consumers are part of the ideology which has grown up in the system of production for profit.

Railway Co-operative Society.

Odon Por is more interesting in describing the actual developments of the Italian Co-operatives, of which he has undoubtedly a wide knowledge, though his account of them is coloured by his half-way-house point of view.

He recounts * that some twenty years ago the Italian railwaymen proposed to take over the management of the Italian State railways. The Trade Union of the secondary railways has recently formed a National Co-operative Combine, including 12 Co-operative Societies, covering 12 different areas. The object is to take over the various railway systems from the State on lease, as the existing contracts with the various private companies come to an end. The Combine includes all grades of workers, from the stationmaster and engine driver to the navvy. Shares of 20 lire are issued. Each member must take up at least four shares.

Marine Co-operatives.

The National Federation of Marine Workers was founded in 1909, to include all workers on board ship, from captain to cabin boy. In 1918 the Federation promoted the founding of a Co-operative Society, the Garibaldi, by its affiliated societies. Membership of the " Garibaldi " is confined to members of the Marine Workers' Federation. Shares in the Garibaldi are 25 lire each. No union may hold more than 5,000 lire, this being the maximum fixed by law. In April 1919 the federated unions decided that their members should invest the increases in pay just received in co-operative shares up to the total allowed to each Union. The subscriptions were fixed at 60 lire per month for captains and chief engineers, 50 for other officers, and 45 for other ratings. The Garibaldi has now 65,000 shareholding members and a share capital of 54,000,000 lire. It owns seven large steamers, one oil tanker, and smaller craft. Five ships were bought from the State. The December 1922 balance showed a net profit of 1,319,822.75 lire; 10 per cent. was paid to reserve, 455 per cent. to sinking fund, 20 per cent. to welfare fund, 25 per cent. to development fund.

Disabled members and the relatives of deceased members are re-paid the value of their holdings. Shareholders, according to the rules, are to be re-paid as soon as possible.

Metal Workers' Co-operatives.

There are about a hundred metal workers' Co-operatives. A combine of Co-operatives was formed in 1919, and about twenty societies joined it. It is able to construct large merchant and war ships. At Trieste, Venice, Ancona, Spezia, Genoa, and Sazana it has yards for repairing the largest liners. It has workshops for the construction and repair of railway coaches, electric and long-distance transmission plant, the construction of machine tools and tool-making machines, sporting guns, machinery of precision, plumbers' fittings, agricultural machinery; it has iron and brass foundries. It has built ships for the Government, and coaches and electric plant for the State railways.

When the combine began, some Co-operatives joined it as autonomous members, others were bought up and managed by it. The dual system caused difficulties. The result is that the combine has given up direct management. It leases out to separate combines all the Co-operatives it formerly bought.

The combine now undertakes the following functions: **

" (a) Taking on contracts for work and sub-letting them to Co-operative Societies.

" (b) Provision of funds for the work so allocated.

" (c) Supply of raw materials.

" (d) Commercial office, advertising, etc., for information, allocation, and exchange of individual products.

" (e) Political office for propaganda and policy.

" (f) Administration and technical inspection of office."

The rules for the Co-operatives in the combine are:

" (a) They may not independently take on work of considerable extent without obtaining the previous consent of the technical office, in order to avoid failure or disaster.

" (b) They may not make large direct purchases of raw material unless they can show that they can buy at lower prices than those offered by the supply office of the combine.

" (c) They must submit to such periodical inspection of their administration as the combine shall think fit, in order to safeguard the efficient working of the Co-operative Societies."

It is interesting to notice that even in this authoritarian age it has been found most practical for the individual Co-operatives to retain their autonomy. In the Socialist community of the future the central offices represented by this combine will be centres for compiling statistics, collating information and for research—not for authoritarian control.

The Venice Arsenal.

The Venice Arsenal is under the control of the Venice Municipality, which delegates the management to a combine composed of the metal workers' Co-operatives and the Capitalist shipping companies. The interest which the shipping companies may draw from the money they have invested in the Arsenal is limited by law.

Such arrangements show the strength to which the Trade Union and Co-operative Movement had attained before the rise of the Fascisti. Also the limitations in the policy and power of the Italian Labour Movement; for all these are but modifications of Capitalism—the wage system remains untouched

Building Co-operatives.

The Italian Federation of Building Co-operatives and Communes was founded in 1920 by the Building Workers' Federation, in agreement with the National Co-operative and Trade Union Federations. In some districts private enterprise in building has ceased, and the Co-operatives have taken its place. The Building Federation undertakes not merely buildings, but repair and construction of roads, reclamation of waste land, irrigation and drainage, the making of embankments, dykes and waterworks. It undertakes contracts for work abroad and has carried out work in the devastated regions of France.

It should be observed that the building workers' Trade Union and the building Co-operatives are mer[illegible]anisation.

* The Guild Movement in Italy " International Labour Review."

** Oden Por in " International Labour Review."

Can we doubt that the people are developing towards the Communist sovietisation of industry, even though it be by devious and often mistaken paths?

The Ravenna Co-operatives.

The Ravenna Co-operative is of another order. It applies not merely to one industry, but to many. The Ravenna Co-operative Society was formed so long ago as 1883. In 1885 it took over the management of a large stretch of land belonging to the municipality of Ravenna. This land it has reclaimed and cultivated. The same Co-operative Society has since reclaimed and settled waste land belonging to the Crown at Ostia, near Rome.

The success of the Agricultural Co-operative Society at Ravenna led to the formation of numbers of other societies in the neighbourhood: plasterers', carters', joiners', smiths', metal workers', house painters', tinsmiths', glaziers', porters', marine workers', marble workers', bakers', and other Co-operatives were formed, and have since formed the Federation of Co-operative Societies of the Province of Ravenna. There are in all 100 Co-operatives, with 23,000 members, owning the plant required for their industries, and farming upwards of 17,000 acres of land. The Federation owns and farms a further 4,500 acres of land.

The local societies are autonomous. The Federation represents them in dealing with outsiders, and assists in procuring materials and giving technical advice.

All this has come about because the marshes of Ravenna were abanoned by private Capitalism. The Co-operatives have been built on the most advanced and idealistic basis realised by the people who originated and carried out this work. Had the possibility of Communist co-operation found a practical and determined basis in the minds of the founders, the organisation would have been different. We should strive to ensure that all future new settlements be conducted on Communist lines, so far, at least, as the internal management is concerned.

The Ravenna Co-operatives have built factories for private firms, public buildings, roads, canals, bridges, not merely in their own province, but all over Italy.

Shortcomings of the Co-operatives.

If funds are short the workers work on credit or lend their own small savings. The profits are divided between the reserve, sinking fund, education and welfare work, the proportion being fixed by the general meeting of members.

The great commercial success of the Italian Co-operatives has been reached through the efforts of their great membership. Odon Por declares that the Co-operatives are a real menace to Capitalist firms, which, in some directions, find that they cannot compete with the Co-operatives.

This doubtless is the reason why, as Por reports:

> "The present Government has announced that it is preparing a Bill for setting up a National Council of Labour and Production."

The great industrial Capitalists hired Mussolini to organise the Black Shirt Army to crush the Socialist and Trade Union Movement by violence. They may use subtler methods to limit the competition of the Workers' Co-operatives.

It must be recognised, however, that whilst the workers have displayed remarkable initiative and solidarity in constructing them, the Co-operatives have in no sense liberated the workers.

Products for Use Not Attempted.

They are not linked together in the effort to make themselves independent of Capitalism while they are trading with each other. They are also trading with private enterprise on the same or similar terms. Those of them that are not paying interest on the invested capital are paying into large sinking funds to redeem their loans. They are competing with Capitalism to produce and sell at a profit. Production for use has not been attempted.

Unemployment.

As to the Marine Co-operative, which, Odon Por describes, its assistant secretary in its centre at Genoa resigned for precisely these reasons. He pointed out that at the close of the war the employees of the Co-operative suffered like other workers from unemployment and falling prices because the Co-operatives had not attempted to make themselves independent of Capitalism.

Odon Por urges a closer binding of the Co-operatives to the Capitalist structure, a definite union between them, and private enterprise.

Actually the hope of the future lies in the opposite direction.

LETTERS OF KARL LIEBKNECHT.

Translated from the German by G. B.

TO HIS WIFE.

September 20th, 1910.

Dearest,—

We shall soon be celebrating the third anniversary of our marriage. I cannot imagine where you will be on that day. I have received no sign of life from any of you since September 3rd, and despair of receiving any. It is doubtful if this letter will reach Berlin by October 1st. The conditions of the post are abnormal, like all the rest. We are working immediately behind the first line at the front, near the advance posts, without any protection. The Russian front is still on this side of the Duna. Night and day shots and explosions, bright flashes and dull rumblings, hissings and whistlings and sobbings and heavy crashes. Bombs and shrapnel follow each other unceasingly; at night we must be ready to leave our quarters at any moment. Eventually we shall have to go in the trenches; according to Hindenburg the sappers have behaved so well that they are to have this "honour." Really we are not fit for it, nor experienced enough. Even the solitary non-com. who has charge of us has never tried it, and knows nothing at all about it. Till now, however, we have had no losses in our division, although we were once obliged to evacuate on account of the artillery fire, and our actual quarters have come under fire more than once. In other divisions of the same company there have been several losses. Only the day before yesterday a non-com., father of six children, was killed by shrapnel. Yesterday a man shot himself with his rifle, firing it off with his foot.

The way we are treated here is shameful—criminal. Please let Haase know of it. The entire battalion of 2,500 men has only one doctor—and what a doctor! One doctor for 2,500 men who are scattered about in extremely small companies over an area of about 80 square miles or more. In my own company of about 500 men there are two officers of the Ambulance Corps—for 500 men scattered about in an area of 30 square miles. And of these two, one has been transferred to the forage transport, and so lost altogether to the ambulance service—just now when the danger is greatest. And that at the front; it is a great scandal. The victualling here, too, leaves much to be desired, but we find plenty of good potatoes in the fields. We can get no tobacco at all, and that is particularly trying, as tobacco is the only stimulant left to us. Behind, at the reserve posts there is everything—two cigars and a couple of cigarettes a day, for instance. Here we get one cigar every jubilee year, and we pay 20 pfennigs for a miserable cigarette. The hardest privation of all, however, is having no light. After six o'clock it is quite dark—no candles or anything. We wander about a little while. We can neither read nor write, and have nothing to do but "go to bed"—that is, lie down on our bit of straw all dressed as we are, rolled up as best we can in our cloaks and thin blankets in a cold barn or stable, to freeze all night, and very often wet to the skin. We really need our winter clothes here; and I left mine at home when I came away in June. Please send them to me at once, and send me every week regularly five packets of good tobacco and twenty cigars, those at 6 pfennigs, big and strong; and every week, too, five candles, not too large. Please send me the "Tageblatt." I hear it is temporarily stopped. Once I got "Vorwaerts."

I have quite got away from the original topic of this letter. I began about the anniversary of our wedding day, and was intending to write you a few comforting words. I want to tell you that I love you, that the time we passed together is to me very sacred, and that if I come out of this massacre safe and well in spite of everything, I want to help you to make your future more what you desired it to be than I have been able to do so far. Spend that day thinking of me, my darling; think of Prague, Eger, and Schandau, of the Schlachtensee, of Hamburg, Heidelburg, of Wurms, and so on, as I shall do. . . .

Your KARL.

TO HIS WIFE.

My Dearest,—

I am leaving for Kertschen to find the doctor. Something flew in my eye at work, and inflammation has set in. It is nothing serious, and will give me a chance to get away from the front for a couple of days. It is three o'clock in the morning. I and a couple of our men have taken refuge for the night in a deserted house. Cossack patrols are prowling round, so one of us must sit up, and I have undertaken it as I wanted a chance to work and read. I got a heap of newspapers a little while ago, but so far no letters. We are two or three miles from the front, and for the moment things are fairly quiet. The heavy artillery is not in operation. Last night there were several sanguinary skirmishes in the forest of the Duna. The German losses were considerable, partly owing to the fact that the German artillery fire fell short. It seems that operations on a large scale are being prepared on both sides, German and Russian. The spirit of the German troops is much excited—nay, embittered. I found a large number of old reservists of my acquaintance, who are in a very disquieting state of mind. They are all utterly sick of the massacre.

In the early part of the time all sorts of officers, including two princes, used to come and discuss with me. My part in the discussion was carried on with perfect outspokenness, and was, to me, very diverting. I told them the truth quite plainly, and made them admit, in the end, that it was Germany and Austria who had provoked the war, and that they had hailed the assassination at Serajevo as an excuse sent from heaven; they expressed with the utmost cynicism their hopes of further conquests. One of them even confessed to me that he had worked for years to help bring on the war, and that the war would last another year, and perhaps two. If we have an opportunity I will give you more particulars of these conversations.

It is all dark round me. I hear the men singing in the distance. I don't know why, I am afraid, horribly afraid, of losing you. All the past lives before me, and I shall lose myself in it if you do not lift me out. I love you so; love me always. My hands are stretched out to you; give me yours. Help me. Without you I am nothing. Everything seems to give way in me.

Your KARL.

Navayuga, an independent weekly devoted to national and international problems, edited by G. V. Krishna Rao, Gandhipet, Guntur, Madras, India, 12/- a year.

SHOWING A TONGUE.

By L. A. Motler.

When I was trying to disguise myself as a German in a German Durchreisezug (or through train) I recollected that story of the Scotsman and the man from Zummerzet. You will remember they were trying to ask each other the time, or maybe the Scotsman was asking for a match. I don't know. But anyway, after they had each been cursing the other for not knowing the English language, the Scot desperately threw out a few phrases in fluent Zulu. Immediately the Zummerzet man understood him. And a sort of entente cordiale (Johnny Dewar brand) arose out of that discordial misunderstanding.

You see, Henry, I had been struggling with a dictionary that purported to give the exact meaning in German of whatever I wanted (but most of what I didn't want). It was a real German book, printed in Germany, so it ought to have been all Sir Garnet and A1 at Norddeutscher Lloyd's.

Unfortunately, I read the English part of the dialogue first, and it gave me decided misgivings. I turned to "In einem Postwagen":

"If you would be kind enough to change places with me, you would oblige me very much. I am always ill when I ride with my back to the horses."

Now Germany is in a bad way, but I have never seen a broken-down train being hauled along by horses, although I have been in a motor-car that was being hauled by ten donkeys and fifty kaffirs out of a raging torrent that fifteen minutes ago had been a mild-mannered, half-dried Cape Province spruit. But that by the way. To return to our horses. I noticed after all that "Postwagen" meant stage-coach, so it was a little behind the times. Making allowance for half a century, however, and making "horses" read "engine," I thought I would get along. So I read some more.

"You appear to be inclined to sleep, madam."

I had noticed it myself, but it had never occurred to me that it was something to talk about, like the weather, for instance, or the price of Munich lager. Yes, Matilda, just one more, thanks.

"Yes, but one cannot get into a convenient position."

"Do not inconvenience yourself, madam. If my shoulder is any accommodation to you."

I thought this was fine. There was a fraulein in the train who could have had both my shoulders and a bit of my lap if I had known the German for it before. But now she was fast asleep; and, strange to say, not one of the Germans there had offered her anything but a cold shoulder, as far as I had noticed. Maybe the guide book meant that shoulders were not for home consumption.

However, here we are on the railway. Strange I did not notice it before, but you will easily understand "Gesprach zwischen zwei Reisenden auf einer Eisenbahn." I myself did not get any information like this dialogue gave me to understand was supplied lavishly, but here it is.

"Are you going as far as Dresden by this train?"

"Yes, sir.

"Then I shall have the pleasure of travelling with you."

Personally nobody asked me where I was going, except the kondukteur, and he would not believe me until I had searched my seventeen pockets for the ticket that was in my hand all the time. He even laughed. And nobody asked me: "How many stations are there between this and Dresden?" I could easily have answered them, for the guide book said: "Eight, but the train only stops at six of them."

However, I was going to Berlin; and there were about forty stations, and the train only stopped at thirty-nine of them—as I found out afterwards. Exactly what this information is I don't know. But if the fraulein had accepted the accommodation of my shoulder, the next question would have had me sitting up:

"Do we pass through any tunnels?"

"Only one, and that a short one."

Still, Henry, my lad, a tunnel is a tunnel. But my luck was out. The fraulein woke up and turned up the gas miles before we came to a tunnel. She never even looked at me but once, and then I found it was because I was trying to read the "Lokalanzeiger" upside down. Germans believe all Englishmen are mad; and I am afraid she went home with that impression.

Believe me, it is not easy to carry on a conversation when you are travelling. Supposing you want to say to a fraulein you like her, she has a kind face, and if an orange is any accommodation to her, well, what are you to do with a book that says:

"If they do not put another engine on, we shall be a long time on the road; for the train is a very long one, and consists chiefly of waggons loaded with rails to repair the railroad between Oschatz and the viaduct at Riesa."

She would probably have said the German for "Oh, quit your kidding, old bean, and don't be so fresh." Or, maybe, have pulled down the handle of the notbremse and have me installed in the nearest fortress for lunatic behaviour. As it was, I looked up that blessed guide book some more.

"When do we give up our tickets?"

Now this is the time when the guide book could have given some all-weather fool-proof information; but instead:

"They seldom ask for them here. Mind you do not lose your ticket for your luggage.

Pish! If they had asked for my ticket once, they had asked for it forty times. You see, I had been advised by a friend (you know those friends who know everything, Henry), and he had said that if there was one thing a Continental thief was good at, that was pocket-picking; and of all things in the world, he preferred to pinch a rail ticket. So I kept my ticket buried deep in a different place each time; I could never remember where I had last put it. And as for luggage tickets, I hadn't any luggage to speak of.

Every mile was landing me nearer my destination; but of information suitable to impart to a young girl with blonde hair and blue eyes, well, you could search that guide book from cover to cover. You could likewise search me.

What was the use of saying to her:

"The situation of the engine driver and stoker must be very unpleasant with such a heat in front of them."

According to the guide book, she would have replied:

"Oh yes; but in winter I think it is not so disagreeable."

Instead she woke up, did some business with her hair, and then pulled out a copy of the "Daily Herald." And me wasting all those precious miles trying to get a decent conversation out of an alleged Guide and Aid to Travellers in Germany.

Believe me, Henry, these foreign books are no good. Even if you do hit on the appropriate conversation to be addressed to a nice young lady sitting opposite you on the through train to Berlin, it will be no use to you when you sit in the street cafe on the Boulevard Augustin and ask the waiter the nearest way to the Moulin Bleu.

On another page you will find a comrade struggling to impart a knowledge of Esperanto to the people who need it most—the Internationalists. And you will not find it waste of time to pick it up, because it will see you round anywhere, even if it does not tell you how many rails the waggons are carrying to repair the viaduct of Blumenshaven. And you can do a bit of propaganda with it, trying to tell the young lady travelling with you the Esperanto for tunnel.

Methinks I will drink the health of the inventor of Esperanto, and to your success, Henry. Matilda, la saman kompleze!

• • •

We regret that L. A. Motler's signature was omitted from his "Press Gangdom" in last week's issue. Our readers, however, will have recognised his style.

THE DESECRATION OF THE EMBANKMENT.

How ugly are the manners of Capitalism! The banks of the old grey Thames, which should be a place of rest and peace for Londoners, are desecrated by huge painted letters and glaring electric signs advertising the "Daily Mail," "Boots," "Millennium Flour," and so on. Firms which advertise in that fashion should be boycotted for inflicting eyesores upon the people.

Quiet is banished from the Embankment, with its trees and its potential grandeur, by the ceaseless roar and clatter and the flashing lights of the electric trams. Londoners thronging in enormous numbers to work in the city from the proletarian suburbs on the south side of the river must be conveyed to and from their homes; and the Embankment tramlines are useful connecting-links between the various southern tram routes. That is so; but if the enrichment and beautifying of ordinary life were not almost entirely thrust aside by financial considerations, the Embankment trams would probably pass under the roadway, and some less hideous and noisy mechanism would certainly be devised for transporting the people.

More poignantly disturbing even than the noisy trams are the sad waifs who spend their days, and, when the police permit it, their nights also, upon the Embankment Gaunt, ill-clad figures, with yearning eyes, they seem to ponder the possibility of ending their existence in those grey waters.

AFTER FIFTY YEARS.

The Salvation Army celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by a procession through the streets of London on Saturday, June 23rd. In fifty years that "Army" has advanced not one step. It still preaches the old barbarities of bygone Hebrew superstition. It still calls on the people—and especially the poor and lowly—to live in dread of hell fire. "Blood and fire" is still the motto inscribed on its banners. "The Army" has even gone backward since the day of its foundation, for it has now organised Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in imitation military uniforms.

Past fields and vineyards where the grape and grain
Bear witness to their unremitting toil
Trudge the degenerate soldiers of the soil
And saviours of the world. O'er hill and plain,
Bending beneath their burdens, see them wend
Disconsolate and flouted and despised,
Always unrecompensed, unrecognised,
And still their burden gathers, still they bend.

—Godfrey Blount, B.A.

THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN RUSSIA,

By Alexandra Kollontay.

First Soviet Commissary for Social Welfare.

Describing the conflict between the Communist workers and the Soviet Government for the Workers control of industry.

An important book. Price 6d.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

◆ ◆ ◆

All Matter for Publication— To THE EDITOR:
Business Communications — To THE MANAGER.
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,
152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Three Months (13 weeks) ...	Post Free	1/7½
Six Months (26 weeks) ...	,, ,,	3/3
One Year (52 weeks) ...	,, ,,	6/6

Vol. X. No. 15. Saturday, June 30, 1923.

Our View.

The Mystery Submarine.

THE FIRST POLICE RAIDS in its history have befallen the "Daily Herald." The cause of these raids is its publication of an alleged photograph of an alleged submarine X1. It is strange that the Admiralty should be ruffled by the publication of the hardly discernible little photograph which appeared in the "Daily Herald," which could certainly not be of the least use to any foreign Government desirous of learning the secrets of the so-called mystery submarine.

The "Observer," and other Capitalist newspapers, published details concerning this ship in advance of the "Daily Herald." Capitalist newspapers have stated that the submarine was laid down ten days before the Washington Conference, in order to evade the agreements there arrived at; also that the submarine, the largest in the world, has a cruising radius of 6,000 miles, a displacement of 2,780 tons on the surface, and 3,500 tons submerged.

The "Observer" stated on June 17th:

> "According to reports, which the Admiralty will neither deny nor confirm, she will mount 12-in. guns, and will in reality be a submersible battleship."

Certainly we think that the Government might have made a show of impartiality by raiding the Capitalist newspapers also; but it was a splendid advertisement for the "Daily Herald."

Whilst Britain is alleged to have launched the largest submarine, the United States is said to have built the largest war aeroplane with a wing spread of 120 feet, capable of dropping a bomb which would make a 50-ft. crater and destroy every building within a radius of half a mile.

* * *

French Government Plans for Rhineland.

THAT THE DARIAC REPORT on the Rhineland was accepted and acted upon by the French Government is shown by another secret document published by the "Observer."

This report by the French representative in the Rhineland is dated April 26th, 1923. It shows that the French financed the activities of Dr. Dorten, the German separatist leader. Dorten publicly advocated the Rhineland becoming an autonomous federal State within the Reich, but assured the French that this programme was merely designed to calm the uneasiness of his followers who feared a disguised French annexation. An autonomous State, however, he told the French, could not "stand, and must soon be replaced by an independent State with leanings towards France."

The relations between the French and Dr. Dorten continued for some years. In February 1923 they became strained, and the French accused Dorten of doing nothing to develop the separatist movement, of exaggerating its importance, of misusing the funds entrusted to him, and of provoking campaigns in the French Press hostile to the French High Commissariat which was financing him.

The writer of the report declares Dr. Dorten incapable of malpractices, adding that he believes him upright and honest in money matters. Nevertheless, he has to confess he has no proof to support his opinion of Dr. Dorten, "for the budgets Dorten produced were too sketchy for us to draw any conclusions."

The document advises negotiations with Dorten, not as with another Power, but as with a "valued and weighty counsellor."

This document clearly demonstrates the ugly recklessness and lack of scruple with which Governments manipulate opinion, and use public money and power, to serve the interests of ambitious men who happen to have secured office.

* * *

The Reign of Plenty.

AN ENGINEER WRITES from Nuneaton: "I am learning to operate a hosiery machine. For a month I shall receive no pay, but the chances of work are greater than in the engineering trade.

"One man looking after ten automatic machines can produce forty pairs of stockings per hour, finishing operations taking only a few seconds for each pair.

"One woman in a 48-hour week, with the help of a girl of 14 to 16 years, can produce 100 dozen pairs of socks, finished by hand.

"Dyeing is done by the 10,000.

"Nevertheless, millions of hours are wasted in darning, patching and faking up stockings and socks. Thus time and energy is misused, and feet are kept in a state of discomfort, though the machines can produce stockings and socks as fast as they can be cut off with a pair of scissors.—H. R. G."

Millions of hours, too, are wasted in selling the stockings and socks, which often pass from the manufacturer through many middlemen before they reach the retail shopkeeper, and eventually the purchaser and wearer.

This is the age of potential plenty, but the vast production which is possible is checked by the manipulations of the private-property system. The world's population might easily be supplied with more hosiery than it would care to use, if only production were for use, not profit.

* * *

More Production.

THE APPROPRIATE COMMENTARY to this Nuneaton letter comes from A. B. Dumbar, in Johannesburg: "The Capitalist system of production is marvellous. The manufacturers keep improving the machines and dismissing the workers, and expecting to sell their increased production to a decreasing number of people with the power to buy. The unemployed, without the means to buy, cannot help to make a market for commodities produced for sale. They should be consumers, but they cannot be because they are unable to buy."

* * *

The Home Defence Pretext.

THE "HOME DEFENCE" PRETEXT is again being used to gloss over the new armament race in which the Great Powers are again engaged. Five and a-half millions a year is presently to be spent on the Air Force, and 82 squadrons provided. The Governments are now busy preparing for the next war.

* * *

Kenya.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, speaking at a Britain and India demonstration in the Queen's Hall, urged that the Indian settlers in Kenya should have the same political rights as the white settlers. Mr. Macdonald said the problem is complicated: it is, however, quite simple: let there be equal rights for all inhabitants of Kenya, not excepting those who have first claim to consideration—the

---

In its proper acceptation, "theory" means the completed result of philosophical induction from experience.—Mills.

The present-day motto is: "One man six books." A device should be inscribed: "Six men one book"—Spiller.

COMMENTS ON THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

SIDNEY WEBB AS CHAIRMAN.

Mr. Webb's address to the Labour Party clearly reveals his conception of Socialism. It has not advanced, but rather receded and grown smaller with the passing years. The extreme divergence between Mr. Webb's idea of Socialism and our own is demonstrated in the following passages from his speech:

> "This translation of Socialism into practicable projects, to be adopted one after another, is just the task in which we have been engaged for a whole generation, with the result that, on every side, fragments of our proposals have already been put successfully into operation by town and county councils, and the national Government itself, and have now become accepted as commonplaces by the average man. The whole nation has been imbibing Socialism without realising it! It is now time for the subconscious to rise into consciousness."

And further:

> "To-day what the world needed was not less government but more. It was because they wanted more government internationally (and thereby a wider measure of national freedom in any real sense) that they supported the League of Nations, and sought to render it both more democratic and more and more effective as an instrument of world control."

The Greater Evils.

Mr. Webb's summing up of what he considers the most outstanding evils of the moment, and his immediate proposals for reform, show that his foreign policy bears a very close relationship to that of Mr. Asquith, whilst his home policy is anything but Socialist, is intensely bureaucratic, and has no relation to the cause of proletarian emancipation and wage-slavery.

He summed up the "three dominant features of economic life to-day demanding the consideration of every statesman" as follows:

(1) **The supercession of free competition amongst Capitalists by trusts and monopolies.**

Evidently Mr. Webb desires legislation to limit the development of trusts. In that proposal he is following in the vain footsteps of President Roosevelt. Though Mr. Webb frequently proclaims that he is not a Marxian, it seems odd that he, a lover of bureaucratic centralisation and State control, should advocate an artificially imposed return to Capitalist competition.

The reformist, however, is usually inconsistent.

(2) **The dominating influence of the very rich in the Government and the Press.**

This is a factor which Mr. Webb has been forced partially to grasp, but his realisation of it is very dim. Otherwise he would not believe, as he said in his speech, that French aggression in the Ruhr springs from a "fear complex." He would know that the controlling influence behind the invasion is that of the very rich, motived by the desire for further enrichment.

Unemployment.

As to that, Mr. Webb says the Labour Party has a way out. The Labour Party Unemployment Bill, to deal with, not to prevent unemployment, is, however, published. Mr. Webb has probably drafted it; it is a dismal monstrosity bristling with Orders in Council and relegating the unemployed to Labour Colonies.

The ordinary workman is quite unaware that this Bill is supposed to be his; he would certainly disown the child as a changeling if he knew what the Bill contains.

The Capital Levy.

As to Mr. Webb's further proposals, first comes the Capital Levy, as Mr. Webb described it:

"A war debt redemption levy on fortunes exceeding £5,000 in graduated proportion to the ability to pay, sufficient to redeem the main bulk of the debt."

Mr. Webb advocated the Capital Levy as a relief to trade and industry, urging that at present £1,000,000 a day has to be taken out of industry in taxation "before wages are paid or profits made."

It is interesting that Mr. Webb should be so solicitous to assist the Capitalist manufacturer, and that the Capitalist manufacturer should be so anxious to avoid receiving assistance.

If the great industrialists are called on to pay a proportion of their capital to the Government and get a reduced income tax in return, as promised by the Labour Party, they will create debenture shares which the National Debt investor, whom the Government has re-paid, will take up in order to employ the returned capital and thereby secure interest upon it. The industrial capitalist will thus pay interest on the debentures instead of income tax to the Government.

If the bankers and financial capitalists have to hand over a part of their capital to the Government, they will in return be repaid the amount they invested in the National Debt, as well as having to pay reduced income tax on the rest of their capital. The financiers will see to it that they make a profit on the transaction whichever way it goes. They are more than a match for Mr. Webb and his colleagues in that respect.

We do not think that the Capital Levy will make for the trade improvement the Labour Party promises; the very rich will create financial stringency and upheavals to attain their ends, whilst the Labour Party, with its programme of gradual change, will not attempt to break the power of the very rich.

In any case, the Capital Levy concerns only the very rich and the moderately rich; the wage-earner pays neither income tax nor the levy directly. The productive workers produce the wealth that maintains all the non-producers, whether very rich or moderately so. That position will not be changed by the Capital Levy.

Foreign Policy.

As to foreign policy, Mr. Webb advocated the abolition of passports and Customs barriers. These, of course, are merely Liberal measures.

If Europe is not ready for a European Custom's Union, he urged a unified railway and canal administration from Astrakhan to Algeciras. It is interesting that Mr. Webb, like all the other imperialists, reserves such proposals for the territories of other people. Even under the Labour Party he does not suggest any internationalisation of administration in what the British Empire has and holds.

To the accompaniment of some moral platitudes he stated that the Labour Party policy "would promptly assert for this country that leading position in the concert of Europe which the present Government has abandoned."

Thus Mr. Webb stood revealed as an Imperialist, desiring that his country should be "cock of the walk" in Europe. Thereby he showed himself more reactionary and dangerous than many Liberals. The Webbs, be it remembered, supported both the Boer War and the late war—and these are called Socialists!

Mr. Webb further indicated his view that Germany must pay "to the limit of economic capacity" for the devastation in France and Belgium, and to compensate civilian victims of torpedo and bomb.

Will it be Mr. Webb, the jingo bureaucratic Imperialist, for whom the King will send if, and when, the Labour Party secures a Parliamentary majority?

The Labour Party followed its reformist and anti-Socialist policy with consistency when it rejected the affiliation of the Right-Wing Communist Party by 2,880,000 to 866,000 and refused to extend its whips to Mr. Walton Newbold by 2,270,000 votes to 219,000.

Opening the Door to the Yellows.

Very significant was the decision of the Conference to repeal the clause put in last year to exclude the C.P.G.B., to the effect that no one may be a delegate who belongs to an organisation having for one of its objects the return of canddiates other than those endorsed by the Labour Party or approved as running in association with the Labour Party.

Mr. Henderson, in moving the resolution, said that the clause could be interpreted to exclude an official of the Parliamentary Labour Party who is also a member of the National Executive of the Party. Mr. Henderson did not indicate the individual to whom he referred or the organisation to which he belongs.

If we were in the Labour Party we should certainly want to know the facts, so that we might judge whether the person in question was a fit member of the Labour Party.

The result of these manoeuvres is that the Union of Mr. Havelock Wilson, which opposes the Labour Party, is represented at the Conference, whilst the C.P.G.B., which is now ready to be its obedient servant, is shut out.

The position of the C.P.G.B. is, to say the least, humiliating.

IRISH NEWS.

MARY COMEFORD ON HUNGER-STRIKE IN KILMAINHAM.

Her friends have feared a long time for Mary Comeford that she would not survive this fight, the rancour of the enemy against her seemed to be as strong as is the affection of her friends. She was fired at more than once while cycling and driving—on one occasion a bullet pierced her hat. Her relations felt actually relieved when she was arrested, thinking that in prison her life would be safe.

She was arrested in January last, and brought to Mountjoy Prison, where a protest against overcrowding was being made at the time. She co-operated in this protest, helping to throw out a bed. As a punishment, she and Sheila Humphries were removed to the criminal wing. There they found themselves forced to associate with syphilitic convicts and to use the same vessels. They demanded to be separated from these women and to be given their rights (including letters) as prisoners of war.

No notice was taken of their demands, and they started a hunger-strike. During the hunger-strike Mary Comeford, for waving her hand to a comrade in the political wing, was fired at by a sentry and wounded in the leg. The great loss of blood which resulted, in conjunction with the continued hunger-strike, reduced her to a very weak condition. Then their rights were restored, and for a while the two girls were treated well.

But Mary's battles were not over. On March 26th came the removal from Mountjoy to the North Dublin Union. Women from Oriel House, of a degraded and brutal type, were sent to strip and search the prisoners. Prisoners who resisted any part of their disgusting proceedings were attacked by them with violence. Miss Nora Spillane, one of the deportees, gave the following account of their behaviour:

"Mary Comeford was so badly beaten about the head that she had to have three stitches by the medical officer. Mary Degan received a black eye. Sheila Gaughran and Peg Deleny were flung downstairs. Eileen Barry's (Kevin's sister) clothes were dragged off her and she was treated very roughly. Rose Killen's (London deportee) dress was cut off her, and she was subjected to great indignities.

"Sorcha MacDermott (London deportee) was knocked on the floor by five Cumann na Saoirse women and stripped of her shoes and stockings and dress, held down by Harry Mangan (Prison Adjutant), who knelt on her while the women beat her with her own shoes. Two other military men, whom she afterwards identified in the presence of the Governor, then took her in a corner, forced her to her knees while they twisted her wrists till she fainted. When she recovered consciousness she was out in the passage lying on the floor partially dressed, and her clothes were saturated with water which they had flung on her. Her face is bruised and her lip cut, and her body covered with bruises. Her wrist is badly sprained, her arm in a sling, and she is in bed in a helpless condition, suffering severely from the strain and the shock."

I saw Mary Comeford in the North Dublin Union, and saw the scar on her head. The day after my release (May 6th) she made a daring escape.

In spite of the cessation of all hostilities by the Republicans, she was hunted down and was re-arrested on Friday last and taken to Kilmainham, the worst of all the prisons.

She has been on hunger-strike since her arrest. Her mother's request to see the Governor, doctor, or chaplain of the prison has been refused.

If the war is not over, Mary Comeford is a prisoner of war and should be allowed to communicate with her friends. If the war is over, her re-arrest is an act of wanton aggression by the Free State troops, and her continued detention, on hunger-strike, a most provocative action on the part of the Free State Government, and one calculated to aggravate the growing feeling that the Ministry are determined to have "war at any cost."

They have boasted of a complete victory; but it seems they cannot yet afford to cease the persecution of this girl. Should she die on hunger-strike in Kilmainham Gaol, the campaign against the Republican women of Ireland will have reached a climax long threatened and foreseen.

Habeas Corpus proceedings are being taken on behalf of James Connolly's daughter, Mrs. Norah Connolly O'Brien, who is held prisoner by the Free State.

The Irish Republican Bulletin tells a terrible story, so terrible that we can hardly bring ourselves to insert it:

"A Free State officer who has returned from Kerry was telling me of some terrible things done by Commandant Handcox in his area (Tralee). Handcox tied a prisoner's feet with rope, fastened one end of the rope to a lorry, and drove off at top speed for 22 miles. There was hardly anything left of the prisoner at the end of the journey, bits of his flesh being scattered in all directions. On another occasion Handcox went to a house to arrest a supposed 'Irregular.' There was no one there but the man and his mother. Handcox fired and wounded him in the leg. The mother screamed and shouted to Handcox that he had wounded her son. Thereupon Handcox fired six more shots into the man's body as he lay on the ground, saying: 'I've killed him now!'"

When will they end it by letting them have that Republic?

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO.

La Lingvo Internacia.

4d., post free, from the "Dreadnought" Bookshop.

RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 del. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 del. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New York.

ESPERANTO.

Lesson 23.

PREPOSITIONS (OF PLACE).

A Preposition shows the relationship between a noun (or pronoun) and some other word in the sentence. Most, but not all, prepositions relate to place—e.g., **en** la ĉambro, in the room. In English a preposition often has a number of different meanings—e.g., **by** has about six meanings (La infano staris **apud** la patrino, the child stood **by** the mother; laŭ ordono, **by**, or according to, order; li pasis **preter** la domo, he passed **by** the house, etc.). In Esperanto every preposition, except one, has a clearly defined meaning. The learner can grasp the meaning most easily if he will draw a simple diagram—a circle and, to the right of it, a few strokes representing a tree. The prepositions can be indicated by a cross or line marked in various positions in the diagram, as shown below:

en, in (a cross marked **in** the circle, **en** la cirklo).

ekster, outside (a cross marked **outside** the circle).

el, out of (a line proceeding from within the circle and extending **out of** the circle, **el** la cirklo).

inter, between (a cross between the circle and the tree, **inter** la cirklo kaj la arbo).

super, above (a cross marked **over** the tree, **super** la arbo).

apud, close to, by (a cross **close** to the tree).

sur, on (a cross **on** the circle, **sur** la cirklo).

de, from (a line proceeding **away from** the tree).

de also means **of**, la centro **de** la cirklo, the centre of the circle.

preter, beyond, by (past), (a line passing from the circle and passing **beyond** the tree (**past** the tree).

sub, under (a cross **under** the circle, **sub** la cirklo).

kontraŭ, opposite, against (a cross on the **opposite** side of the circle to that on which the tree stands).

ĉe, at (a point or place) (a line stopping **at** the tree).

ĝis, up to, as far as (a line drawn **as far as** the tree, **ĝis** la arbo); **ĝis** also means **until**.

antaŭ, before, in front of. (The tree may be represented as standing **in front of** a house.) **Antaŭ** also means **before** with reference to time.

cirkaŭ, about, around (a dotted line drawn **around** the circle).

al, to, towards (a line drawn **towards** the circle).

tra, through (a line passing **through** the circle).

trans, across (a line **across** the page).

The prepositions in the exercise below are shown in heavy type.

Vocabulary.

sidas	sit
du	two
manĝas	eat
taso	cup
fajro	fire
kuŝas	lies
hundo	**dog**
kiu	which
pordo	door
paŝis	stepped
alia	other
eliras	goes out
fino	end

En hotela ĉambro sidas du personoj ĉe tablo. Ili trinkas kaj manĝas. Sur la tablo **estas** tasoj, subtasoj (" under-cups "—i.e., saucers), teleroj (plates), tranĉiloj (knives) kaj forkoj. **Sub** la tablo estas kato. **Antaŭ** la fajro kuŝas hundo. **Super** la kameno (fireplace) estas spegulo (mirror), kiu estas **kontraŭ** la pordo. Unu el la homoj **stariĝas** (" becomes standing "—i.e., stands up) kaj paŝas **al** la pordo; la alia marŝas **ĝis** la fajro, **cirkaŭ** kiu sidas aliaj homoj, kiuj **fumas** (are smoking). Kelnero (a waiter) **paŝas tra** la ĉambro kaj eliras **ĉe** la alia fino. La kato kuris **trans** la ĉambro kiam la hundo **leviĝis** (" became raised "—i.e., got up).

A COMMUNIST READS HIS LOCAL NEWSPAPER.

Hear, hear! So someone said, my paper informs me, when a certain noble lord, attached (in so many ways) to this neighbourhood, remarked that as a result of 88 millions " saved " on this year's Budget estimates, it had been possible to take a penny off beer. When he added that he hoped some of the necessaries of life might also be reduced soon, there appears not to have been any cheery " Hear, hear! "

The occasion was the annual dinner of a certain sick club, and the noble lord spoke primarily of farming " problems," but didn't seem to think it necessary to explain why working men should need sick clubs and titled gentlemen should get along swimmingly without them. And there is nothing to indicate that the members of the club thought it necessary to enquire into the matter either. The good lord expressed another hope, so hopeful was he, that the club (which was " really a magnificent achievement ") would be handed down to the members' children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. World without end, in fact! Let us praise the lord! But, sad thought, those grandchildren and great-grandchildren might have something to say about the matter. They might not be so keen on the " established order " as is the noble lord. One never knows.

And this also I read:

"The townsman was apt to take a narrow and selfish view—he wanted good wages for himself, and also what the land produced and what he ate, as cheaply as possible."

My lord, of course, is quite different. He doesn't ask for wages at all. Unearned income satisfies him down to the ground, and he doesn't mind things being dear; not a bit of it. Can't he afford to pay for them?

" Farmers wanted to pay a fair and decent wage to the men they employed," it is nice to know, " but they could not afford to do so under the conditions which had ruled during the past twelve months." As it is admitted that a " fair and decent wage " is not being paid, what is to be done about it? Cherio! Listen! " In farming, as in other matters, he believed they were on the road—it would be a long road, and only gradual—to better times."

Hodge is duly grateful for the belief. I know he is, for I have lived with, and in the same way as, Hodge. And while progress is more along the gradual and long road (without the fair and decent wages the farmers would really like to pay) to better times, Hodge will continue (if he can possibly keep skin and bones together) to exercise that magnificent patience that has ever been his characteristic possession. Yet sometimes one has doubts and asks wonderingly, will he?

Hodge is simple. He may yet prove too simple for my lord. He knows it is not true that " the burden had fallen on the farm labourer and the farmer alike." In his simplicity he may ask why, if there are any burdens, they should not in fact be shared by all. But he may go further: he may ask why there should be burdens for any, when production can, by work on the part of all, be made to meet all needs. And he may insist that the wealth so produced shall be equally accessible to all.

The noble lord hopes. So do I! And my hopes differ from those of my noble lord!

Lord-less let us be
Nobles all are we,
Share we equally.

BEE.

THE POWER OF SONG.

A comrade writes from South Govan that a religious revival is taking place there, and that he and others are replying by organising a choir for their meetings, as they observe that singing attracts the people to the religious meetings.

THE WESTMINSTER WINDMILL.

By Clara Cole.

The workers are being hemmed in daily by so many unjust laws that the weight of them produces a feeling of paralysis whenever one tries to help those who are down and out. These laws are all in favour of riches and against the poor. A man may not lie down by the roadside to sleep at night if he is homeless; yet the roadside is supposed to be public property, and private motor-cars may encumber it night and day. The less a man possesses, the less chance he has of obtaining anything and at the same time retaining his freedom. He must first of all be destitute in order to obtain shelter in a workhouse In State institutions a man is bound body and soul; that is why he will prefer an empty room with only a cup and saucer and a plank of his own to sleep on. He wakes up free; not so in the Workhouse. A man told me that he preferred prison because, said he, " you do know when you are coming out."

If these unjust laws that are made against **the unwanted workers are merely attacked** one by one, the workers will never get free. These laws, with the National Debt, must be repudiated altogether.

Commander Hilton Young, in the House of Commons. described the National Debt as "an imaginary debt," and so it is; but it will continue to be paid for in blood and sweat as the workers grind and grovel until it is repudiated. The workers do not owe the money. All that was used during the war they made by their labour, and the capitalists **have had good unearned profits out of the** ghastly munitions, bad food and shoddy clothes served out to " Tommy." The workers also paid the heavier toll in lives—5,000 a week for four years.

Compare the pensions of the poor with the pensions of the rich, especially the pensions of the rich who never went to the front. The capitalists lie high and dry in luxury; the workers, dying daily, lie stranded in a state of poverty so disgusting it is impossible to describe. It must be seen to be understood, and lived in to be felt.

Lords and ladies neither see these conditions close at hand, nor will they ever risk suffering under them for one day. The death-rate for infants in wealthy districts is 27 per 1,000; in poor districts often over 100 per 1,000. (" Daily Herald," February 6th, 1923.) The factories that were loaned by the capitalists have been returned with handsome profits. We are paying this " imaginary debt" to a set of drones who form the financial power behind the Government functioning through the Houses of Parliament, which do not make one crust of bread or one yard of material.

Those Who Make Must Control.

When I say Parliament, I mean Parliament as understood by even A. G. Gardiner when he said in " John Bull ": "Broadly speaking, half-a-dozen men control the public opinion of this country—Lord Rothermere, Sir Edward Hulton, Lord Dalziel, Sir William Berry, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Riddell. Not one of them has a name which has any **significance to the public** or **stands for any idea** except the money power." He also says: "I decline to get in a panic with the " Morning Post " over the menace of Communism. It is true that we have now in Parliament a substantial body of declared Communists . . . and I am glad to see them in Parliament —that is the place where all the extremists should let off their hot air."

To Labour leaders and Communists who honestly believe they can work through Parliament, remember that all business that really matters is done in secret away from the House. According to Lord Newton, in 1921 there were 674 Peers; 240 abstained from attending, and 220 were present fewer than ten times. " Amongst those who never attended," proceeded Lord Newton, " was Lord Rothermere." Gardiner said: " This is one of the men who wield the enormous power over us."

Sir E. Benn's jeer at Communists inside Parliament had a deeper meaning in it than his audience detected when he said: "In England we don't hang Communists, we put them in Parliament."

A gag in your mouth or a muzzle on it is as effectual as a rope round your neck for their purposes. Sometimes Communists are allowed to defy gags and muzzles, for the "hot air" they let off provides a good smoke-screen for Big Business outside. Whilst Walton Newbold, ignoring gags, told home truths to deaf ears, the important warships passed in silence to the Russian coast, and he has written "an ample and complete apology" for the hot air!

Our place is in the street, at the docks, talking to the only man that matters, and telling him to refuse to make munitions, to refuse to fire or sail in warships. Parliament was pretending to discuss the pros and cons for war **in 1914, when, five days** before war was declared, on July 30th, Churchill "on his own initiative secretly gave the word of command which sent eighteen miles of British warships steaming through the Straits of Dover at full speed under cover of the darkness of the night, with their lights out, to occupy that dominating and strategic station in the North Sea which they maintained . . . to the close of the war." Therefore, Churchill started the war.

Gardiner went on to say: "The six above-mentioned men own practically every great popular paper in the country. . . . They supply us with the news they please, and make us believe what they want us to believe."

The "Daily News" for November 17th, 1922, states there were only 5,381,413 votes for the Government, 8,532,253 were against the Government. Liberal and Labour 6,831,600, Liberal and National Liberal 3,978,422. For every two people who voted Tory there were three who voted for one of the alternative parties. Therefore, we are ruled by the minority, and the vote does not reflect the voice of the majority. At the last General Election barely 50 per cent. of the total electorate went to the poll. ("Daily Herald," November 13th, 1922.) Half the nation either ignores or does not put faith in Parliament, J. R. Clynes said, referring to conversation between members of General Council of Trade Union and Lloyd George (the latter always our enemy). "I can't say a great deal, being bound by pledge of secrecy." Bound to whom? Surely the worker who sends him ought to be told about his own business. Clynes should be his agent deputated to take orders from him, not act in secret without consulting his client.

Directly elections are coming off in favour of Labour, force is resorted to by the rich. In East Galicia 15,000 Ukrainian Nationalists were arrested before polling. All candidates of the Communist Party were arrested. In other parts of Poland 2,500 Left-Wing Socialists were arrested.

Our King and King Curzon have just been fraternising with the most unconstitutional ruling man in the world who was not elected by the people. "Mussolini declares frankly that he does not need a majority; that he has 300,000 men, and can close Parliament and punish his opponents whenever he will." ("Daily Herald," November 18th, 1922.) The same thing will happen here; why buy the bitter experience?

When Allenby found only Zaglulists were returned, he deported or imprisoned Zaglul and his colleagues, and imposed martial law on the people; martial law is the negation of constitutionalism. Allenby uses the Army, but we pay for it in life and labour.

Parliament is utterly opposed to change or advance, or even reform. To get elementary justice you must either break the law or fight from outside. There is as yet no law on the Statute Book that can use physical force to put men and women in workhouses, and yet there are even stronger and subtler laws that force them there every day, such as the "squatting laws," or withholding relief and giving instead an order for the Workhouse. A homeless man got fourteen days' hard labour for sleeping in a cave made by Nature; a man and woman were imprisoned for sleeping in a tool-shed, and the children thereby forced into the Workhouse.

One woman "of small stature" was arrested for trying to sleep in a dustbin. On more than one occasion I have interviewed and written to Labour Members to ask for the release of these people and for accommodation outside. The answer invariably is: "Impossible to do anything."

Rich men from Parliament ask—nay, force—starving men to defend their riches, and when the miserable undefended soldier returns from the horrors of war he is not allowed to go to these men in Parliament for a loaf, and on their doors it is printed: "No hawkers." Hawking is the starving man's last hope.

The Guardians are at present the buffers; but even the buffers will snap when the pressure exceeds the resistance, and the Guardians have now resorted to force in order to stifle the cries of starving men. Police are kept in ante-rooms when deputations of unemployed meet the Board. These police, with their hands on their batons, are trotted out directly the Board's adverse decision is given, and the unemployed are dispersed by force. Unemployed enter the room without as much as a walking-stick between them, the Board always outnumbers the deputation, and the unemployed only claim a hundredth part of what they were promised in the matter of food and housing. Remember the placards with the pretty little rose-covered cottages—on paper—scraps of paper? "An amendment by Neville Chamberlain, Minister of Health, to waive the minimum of 570 feet in special circumstances affecting two-storeyed houses, and 500 feet in regard to flats, was accepted by the Standing Committee of the Commons considering the new Housing Bill." His house will not come under this Bill.

Parliament, in which the rich classes always preponderate, was well represented on May 16th by Neville Chamberlain, who tried to stop the working classes having sufficient bedrooms "for common decency," and he also tried to deprive the workers of bathrooms. His remark on these discussions was a waste of "precious time." ("Daily Herald," May 17th, 1923.) Only one class is safeguarded—the wealthy drones who never need to apply to Parliament for houses or food; and it proves my argument that Parliament and Ministers of Health are instruments for keeping houses, food and clothes from the workers.

Neville Chamberlain should be the last man to have the power to deprive the workers of bathrooms or bedrooms. He probably has a bathroom attached to his bedroom for his own exclusive use, and there is generally in his class of home a bathroom on each floor. What right has he to debar a whole family from one bathroom? To workers who keep him clean by doing the dirty and dangerous work the necessity for a bathroom is greater even than his; yet his class, after withholding baths from the workers, have the impudence to stigmatise them as dirty.

Through Neville Chamberlain's class both sexes are forced to share the same room, then punished for the consequences. If we were a commonsense nation it would appear absurd for working men to build bathrooms for one class of men whose bodies are the same as those who are deprived of them.

(To be continued.)

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN"
(Canada's Foremost Labour Paper).
The One Big Union seeks to organise the workers on class lines. Read about it.
Eugene Sue's marvellous story: "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," now running in serial form.
10/- per year; 5/- six months.
Plebs Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

They Call Me Carpenter. By Upton Sinclair. (T. Werner Laurie, 7/6.)

This is a burlesque story in which Jesus Christ is supposed to appear in modern New York. The targets mainly attacked are the cinema producers and the movie "stars" and the vulgarities of the newly rich. The particular setting is new, but the plot has been used again and again in recent years. We question the wisdom of endeavouring to arouse the social conscience by treating the New Testament as though it were an exact historical record of actual events, and of basing revolt from the existing order upon theology.

The book, though progressive in intent, goes no deeper than the mob propaganda it derides.

Ascent of Man. Samuel W. Ball, 1065 Van Buren Street, Chicago, 25 cents.

Effective Thinking. Samuel Ball, Chicago, 10 cents.

The Fellowship of Humanity. By Gilbert T. Sadler. (W. H. Smith and Sons, 1/-.)

The author is slowly struggling from Conservatism to Communism. A while ago he was complaining because the Russian Revolution had robbed him of his Russian dividends. Now he says:

> "For the State to buy out the present shareholders of the mines, railways and land, as some suggest, would be to make these shareholders State capitalists receiving 5 per cent. for fifty or sixty years, and also increase the bureaucratic government of industries."

He desires to see the end of money, but would substitute "daily work" coupons. The occasional absurdities of his ideas are shown by his proposal for lunches at Lyons, "supposing Lyons' restaurants were recognised."

> "The lunch could mean that any three of the set courses could be had at an ordinary Lyons' restaurant, or any two at one of the Lyons' superior restaurants."

The gospel of stinting and scarcity has bitten very deep into some people. Why imagine such things as "ordinary" and "superior" restaurants in a classless order? Why contemplate limiting "superior" food or supplying inferior food when an overflowing abundance of the best is obtainable?

Mr. Sadler cannot yet rid himself of the habit of class distinctions. His views on education and other matters betray this unsoundness.

Try again, Mr. Sadler; and meanwhile re-read Kropotkin. Your views are very circumscribed as compared with his.

THE TAX ON KNOWLEDGE.

The Excise Duty on paper was known as the "tax on knowledge," because it enhanced the price of books and newspapers. The duty was abolished in 1861.

To-day the tax on knowledge, in the shape of high paper prices, is put on, not by the Government, but by the Capitalist paper rings. Paper is much more costly than before the war, and the price has been rising steadily during recent months.

TIKHON.

Very remarkable is the confession of the Patriarch Tikhon that "with a few inaccuracies" all the charges against him are correct, and his promise to renounce such activities for the future. He has bought his life by this confession and plea of repentance.

He cuts a poor figure beside the many martyrs of progress who have acted conscientiously and taken the consequences.

A short list from "Our Bookshop."

The Workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia: How They Live, by Augustine Souchy 2/-
Artsibasheff:
Tales of the Revolution (1905) 6/-
H. Allsop:
Industrial History 2/6
Boudin:
The Theoretical System of Karl Marx 6/10
M. Bakunin:
The Policy of the International ..... 1d.
The Organisation of the International 1d.
God and the State ..... 8d.
Gustav Bang:
Crises of European History 1/-
M. Bateson:
Mediæval England 7/6
C. Beard:
Industrial Revolution 1/6
Edward Bellamy:
Equality 2/6
Charles Bradlaugh:
Doubts in Dialogue 2/-
Man Whence and How? Religion What and Who? 3/6
A Plea for Atheism ..... 6d.
Genesis: Its Authorship and Authenticity 4/-
Has, or Is, Man a Soul? 1/-
J. H. Breasted:
Ancient Times: History of the Early World 10/6
Outlines of European History, Part I. 10/6
A Short Ancient History 7/6
George Brewer:
The Rights of the Masses ..... 9d.
Bishop Montgomery Brown:
Communism and Christianism 1/2
F. A. Bruton, M.A.:
The Story of Peterloo 1/-
Edward Carpenter:
Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure ... 2/6
England's Ideal 2/6
The Drama of Love and Death 6/-
The Promised Land: A Drama of a People's Deliverance 3/6
Desirable Mansions ..... 4d.
Anton Chekhov:
The Kiss, and Other Stories 1/-
Edward Clodd:
The Pioneers of Evolution 1/-
Jesus of Nazareth 1/-
Gibbon and Christianity ..... (cloth) 1/6
(paper) 6d.
The Childhood of Religions 6/-
Wm. Cobbett:
1817. The Last Hundred Days of English Freedom 5/-
History of the Protestant Revolution 2/6
Rural Rides (2 vols.) 4/-
English Grammar 2/6
Cottage Economy 3/6
E. Cressy:
Brief Sketch of Social and Industrial History 3/6
Dante:
Divine Comedy 2/-
Charles Darwin:
The Origin of Species 1/6
The Descent of Man 9/-
Voyage of the Beagle 2/6
M. Delaisi:
Oil 2/6
Engels:
Socialism, Utopian and Economic 1/7½
Origin of the Family 3/8
J. T. Holyoake:
Sixty Years of anAgitator's Life ... 2/6
L. C. A. Knowles:
The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the 19th Century 8/6
Chapman Cohen:
Christianity and Social Ethics ..... 1½d.
War and Civilisation ..... 1½d.
Wm. Godwin:
Reflections on Political Justice ..... 4d.
Caleb Williams 3/6
Herman Gorter:
The World Revolution 1/-
Ireland: Achilles Heel of England 1½d.
G. W. Foote:
Bible and Beer ..... 1½d.
Christianity and Progress, with a chapter on Mohammedanism ... 2½d.
The Philosophy of Secularism ..... 2½d.
F. J. Gould:
Brave Citizens 2/6
Health and Honour: Sex Light for Young Readers ..... 2/- and 1/-
The Children's Book of Moral Lessons ..... (each series) 2/6
A Concise History of Religion, I. ... 3/6
,, III. ... 4/6
The Children's Plutarch 3/3
Common-sense Thoughts on a Life Beyond ..... 1/- and 1/9
Gerhardt Hauptmann:
The Sunken Bell: A Fairy Play 2/-
The Weavers 2/-
Sydney Howard:
The Labour Spy 1/1½
T. H. Huxley:
Aphorisms 1/-
Reflections on Modern Science 1/-
Henrik Ibsen:
Pillars of Society 1/-
Col. R. G. Ingersoll:
Faith and Fact ..... 2½d.
The Foundations of Faith ..... 2½d.
Creeds and Spirituality ..... 1½d.
The Christian Religion ..... 3½d.
Karl Kautsky:
The High Cost of Living 3/8½
Alexandra Kollontay:
Workers' Opposition in Russia ..... 6½d.
Peter Kropotkin:
Conquest of Bread 2/2
Fields, Factories and Workshops ... 2/2
Modern Science and Anarchism ... 1/1½
Mutual Aid 2/2
The Wage System ..... 2½d.
The Breakdown of Our Industrial System ..... 8d.
Law and Authority ..... 1½d.
O. V. Kuusinen:
The Finnish Revolution ..... 2½d.
Labriola:
Socialism and Philosophy 6/10
Lafargue:
The Evolution of Property 1/8
Origin and Evolution of the Idea of a Soul 3/1½
Leakey's Esperanto ..... 4d.
Dr. B. Liber:
The Child in the Home 7/10
D. de Leon:
Who Pays the Taxes? ..... 2d.
Burning Question of Trade Unionism 2d
W. Liebknecht:
No Compromise 1/1
Jack London:
Revolution 2/-
The Human Drift 2/-
The People of the Abyss 2/-
John Barleycorn 2/-
War of the Classes 2/3
The Scarlet Plague 1/6
The Valley of the Moon .....2/- and 6/-
Rene Maran:
Batouala, A Negro Novel 10/6
Mary Marcy:
Shop Talks on Economics ..... 3d.
Stories of the Cave People 6/6
Industrial Autocracy ..... 3d.
Rhymes of Early Jungle Folk 10/-
Karl Marx:
Capital, Vols. I., II., III., each 12/6
The Paris Commune 2/6
Value, Price and Profit ..... 6d.
Wage, Labour and Capital ..... 3d.
The Gotha Programme ..... 3d.
Critique of Political Economy 6/6
Civil War in France 3/6
Eighteenth Brumaire ..... (paper) 1/7½
Mazzini:
Letters to an English Family (Vols. II. and III.) 16/-
Duties of Man, etc. 2/6
The Duties of Man (second-hand) ... 1/-
Lewis H. Morgan:
Ancient Society 9/-
Wm. Morris:
Monopoly, or How Labour is Robbed 2½d.
Useful Work and Useless Toil ..... 2½d.
A Dream of John Ball ..... 10d.
Gustavus Myers:
History of the Great American Fortunes (3 vols.) 30/-
Albert Jay Nock:
The Myth of a Guilty Nation 2/6
Sylvia Pankhurst:
Writ on Cold Slate 1/-
Soviet Russia as I Saw It 1/-
Truth About the Oil War ..... 1d.
A. Pannekoek:
Marxism and Darwinism ..... 9d.
Pettigrew:
Imperial Washington 12/-
Frederick Soddy, M.A.:
Cartesian Economics ..... 6½d.
C. K. Streit:
Where Iron is, There is the Fatherland 2/7½
Eugene Sue:
The Gold Sickle and Brass Bell ...3/2½
The Iron Collar 3/2½
Ernest Untermann:
Marxian Economics 7/10½
I.W.W. Song Book ..... 9d.
Emile Zola:
Germinal: The Story of a French Mine 5/4½

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Friday, June 29th.—The Grove, Hammersmith, 8 p.m.: Sylvia Pankhurst and others.
Sunday, July 1st.—Finsbury Park, 7 p.m.: W. Hall, N. Smyth. **Brockwell Park,** 7 p.m., J. Welsh and others.

INDOOR MEETINGS.

Saturday, June 30.—Builders' Labourers' Hall, 84 Blackfriars Road, 7.30 p.m. Debate: Sylvia Pankhurst and Guy Aldred. Admission 6d

OTHER MEETINGS.

Sunday, July 1st.—Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, 7 p.m.: Sylvia Pankhurst.

"DREADNOUGHT" SUMMER SALE.

Comrades are urged to get busy collecting and making goods for the Summer Sale and Garden Party in aid of the "Workers' Dreadnought," which is to be held shortly. Books, pictures and drawings, furniture, clothing, farm produce, groceries, cakes, sweets, jams, toys, fancy goods, hats, shoes, tobacco, tools, etc., etc., will all be gratefully received.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward: £28 1s. 9½d.
G. Sear, Jun., 2/6; Irene Smith, 1/- (weekly); Collections: Hammersmith, 5/6½; Brockwell Park, 5/11; Mrs. Coleman, 1d. F. Brimley, 1/-; G. Dunn, 1/-; M. Powell, 10/- (5/- monthly); E. M. Wetton, 1/- Total for week, £1 8s. 0½d. Total, £28 9s. 10d.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd. (T.U.), at 10 Wine Office Court, London, E.C. 4